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MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy National Intelligence Officer

for Conventional Forces

SUBJECT

: Development of Soviet Overseas Facilities

l. In response to Andrew Marshall's request to you last week, prepared two short papers that are attached. The first is a composite description of events leading to the development of Soviet facilities in Third World countries based on the Soviet experience in Cuba, Egypt and Somalia, including a chronology of milestone events. The second paper summarizes our knowledge and our view of arrangements which the Soviets probably have negotiated to establish overseas facilities.

2. Because of the short deadline, these papers have not been vetted within OSR or the intelligence community. We urge that you inform Mr. Marshall of this fact when you pass these papers to him.

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Deputy Director Strategic Research

Attachments:

"Patterns of Soviet Development of Overseas Facilities" and Chronology MICRO ONLY

"Terms of Agreement Governing Soviet Use of Overseas

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Patterns of Soviet Development of Overseas Facilities

The Soviets have established major military facilities which could be labeled as "bases" in three countries outside the Warsaw Pact: Cuba, Egypt, and Somalia. While each case is unique, there are common elements which permit certain generalizations about the process. What follows is a composite picture, based on these precedents, of the "typical" process by which the Soviets would develop a military presence in a Third World country.

The Initial Relationship. The Soviet military presence begins on a small scale and without fanfare—as a guid pro quo for economic and military aid.

Soviet technicians arrive to carry out economic development programs. These programs include fishery, industry and power development as well as military-oriented development of ports and airfields. At the same time, or shortly thereafter, Moscow sends military advisers, followed by military hardware. Soviet naval units then begin periodic "show-the-flag" port calls. Up to this point, the pattern of development of the Soviet

military presence in the countries where the Soviets have acquired "bases" is essentially the same as that established in most of the Third World countries with which the Soviets have been involved.

Increased soviet Involvement. Next is a phase of increasing Soviet involvement but one in which some of the developments can still be found in countries where the Soviets have not established "bases".

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naval visits eventually become regular as Soviet access to the host country's port facilities and anchorages becomes routine. Meanwhile, the Soviets strive to gain a measure of control over certain repair facilities in the country's ports--primarily for the use of Soviet diesel attack submarines. The Soviet Navy then wins approval to maintain auxiliary ships permanently in port to provide support to visiting Soviet combatants.

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,	Establishment of Facilities Ashore. There follows	
	a period of Soviet entrauchment which normally includes	0.5
	the construction of military facilities specifically	25)
	for Soviet use, under Coviet control.	
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	Most of the military facilities which the Soviets	
	build overseas are for the support of the Soviet Navy.	
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\$ 100 miles		
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While the development of facilities for the Soviet Navy is underway, Soviet air and air defense (SAM, AAA, fighter) forces may also be introduced into the host country to help defend it from external threats as well as to protect the growing Soviet investment itself.

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	Chronology of Development of Soviet	_
	Facilities in the Third World	
Α.	Cuba:	
	Early 1960's: Soviet economic technicians	
	and military advisors begin arriving.	
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	August 1962: Lourdes Military Headquarters	
	is established at Torrens.	2
	October 1962: The US announces that the	
•	Soviets have placed offensive missiles on	•
	Cuban soil and imposes a naval quarantine.	
	(Preceding and succeeding events related to	2
	this occurrence are omitted from this	
	chronology.)]
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	July 1969: First Soviet warship deployment	
	to Cuba.	25X1
	November 1969: Soviet Minister of Defense	
	Grechko visits Cuba.	25X1
	April 1970: Raul Castro visits USSR.	25X1
		25X1
	August-September 1970: Soviets begin rapid	
	construction of housing and recreation facili-	
	ties on Alcatraz Island at Cienfuegos, place	
	submarine nets in the area, and bring in two	
	nuclear submarine support barges.	25X1
•	September-October 1970: US publicly accuses	l
	the USSR of developing a strategic naval base	
	in Cuba for nuclear submarines. An authorized	
	TASS statement officially denies that the USSR	
	is developing "its own military base" in Cuba,	
∞.	but notes that Soviet ships have the "inalienable	
-	right" to enter foreign ports on official visits	
	and "business calls", subject only to the	
	permission of the host country. The Cuban	
	press at first says nothing, then obliquely	
	refers to the controversy but does not take	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	note of the actual denials of construction of	
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	a Soviet military base. Secret US-Soviet	
	diplomatic exchanges occur concerning Soviet	
	naval use of Cuba.	25X1
	navar use or cuba.	
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В.	Egypt:	
	1962: Soviets design and supervise con-	
	struction of El Gabbari shipyard in	
	Alexandria.	25X ²
	1964-5: Soviet warships begin periodic	
	"show-the-flag" visits to Egyptian ports.	
		25X ²
	October 1966: Soviet Foreign Ministry	
	spokesman officially denies a Western	
	news story that the USSR had pressured	
	Egypt to grant it naval bases.	25X ²
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	March 1968: Moscow concludes a five	
• •	year agreement with Egypt granting the	
	Soviet Navy access to Egyptian ports and	
	anchorages.	25X ²
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February 1971: TASS reports Egyptian state-	
ment that "there are no Soviet military bases	S
on Egyptian soil".	2
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July 1971: Red Star states that the USSR doe	s
not have military bases in the Mediterranean.	
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	malia: - Mid-1960s: Soviet economic technicians and	25X1 25X1
	military advisors begin arriving. Modernization of port of Berbera begins.	
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	- October 1969: Coup succeeds in Somalia and the present pro-Soviet government is estab-	
	lished. Soviet military and economic aid increases.	25X1
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L	July 1973: Pravda dismisses Western press	
	claims that the USSR is "building up military	
	forces" in Somalia.]
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	During flurry of comment about Diego Garcia	
	issue, Soviet media directly dismiss reports	
	that USSR is operating naval bases in the	
	Indian Ocean and charge that the US is	
	planning to build a chain of bases in the	
	Pacific and Indian Oceans.	
	July 1974: The Soviet-Somali Treaty of Friend-	
•	ship and Cooperation is signed.	
	August 1974: TASS labels President Ford's	
	statement that the USSR had three Indian Ocean	

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section services and services		25X1
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	bases a "regrettable inaccuracy" and asserts	
	that there is not a single Soviet naval base	
	in the Indian Ocean.	25X1
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	September 1974: TASS replays the denial by the	
	Somali embassy in France of a US Defense	
	Department statement that the USSR had a base	
	in Somalia.	25X1
	October 1974: Soviet Somali Treaty is ratified	
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	and takes effect.	_
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•	 25X1	
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25X1		DOD releases U-2 photos and Defense
		Secretary Schlessinger's testimony on Berbera.
		Soviet media pick up Somali denials of Soviet in-
		stallations in Berbera, later obliquely allude
		to the missile facility as a "meat packing plant",
		and call the new airfield a highway. One Soviet
		broadcast picks up the Pentagon admission that
•	25X1	the missiles are of the
		Styx type, introduced in 1959, and states that
•		these missiles are standard armament on missile
		patrol boats around the world. Subsequent
		media releases, however, revert to replaying
		Somali denials of any Soviet bases and accusing
· -	-	DOD of "misinformation" to strengthen its
		argument for increased budget allocations.

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Terms of Agreement Governing Soviet Use of Overseas Facilities

We know little about the specific terms of agreement for Soviet overscas facilities. It is probable that there are no "Status of Forces" agreements similar to those which the US negotiates when seeking base rights in foreign countries, but rather "understandings" expressed in secret codicils to the various military aid agreements.

Egypt. In the case of the Soviet prosence in Egypt, President Sadat revealed in a speech in April 1974 that Soviet access to Egyptian port facilities is based on a five-year agreement initially concluded in March 1968. Sadat stated that he had renewed the agreement prior to its expiration in 1973, but he did not indicate whether the renewal period was five years. At the same time, Sadat said that the Soviets never truly had military bases in Egypt, only depots for reserve stocks and spare parts aboard Soviet ships in port.

Approved For Release 2003/09/29: CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9 We have no knowledge of any agreement granting Cuba. the Soviets the right to use Cuban facilities or to develop installations of their own on Cuban territory. Apparently such agreements exist, but none has been published. Somalia. Similarly, we have no details on the arrangements the Soviets and Somalis have made regarding the use of the Somali port of Berbera. Economic and military aid agreements were signed in November 1971. 25X1 In July 1974, Soviet President Podgorny visited -25X1 Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9

Somalia and signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation.

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In each of these three cases—even in Egypt—agreements probably have been intentionally ambiguous and therefore open to varying interpretations. The host country could interpret the agreement as merely granting the USSR access to facilities, rather than granting it "base rights" per se. Hence the host country could deny without hesitation the existence of "Soviet military bases". Yet the Soviets could interpret the agreement as permission to develop and control the facilities they want while denying that they are constructing "military bases" overseas, in the legal sense.